SUMMARIUM

GRADUATES

Former Statistics and Analyzis of Society kept separately the record of bigger intellectual groups (doctors, lawyers, teachers). In the 20th century, however – in Hungary at the time of the 1920 census for the first time – the demand of describing the society's intellectual elite collectively as well as according to their school (college or university) qualification appeared. The expansion of higher education in its first wave caused first of all that the proportion of students in age-group categories increased; the time spent in higher education and the proportion of drop outs also increased. In its second wave however, the expansion in number of higher educational qualifications also occurred.

Ladányi Andor shows that between 1950 and 1954, respectively 1960 and 1965 the very quick increase of the number of students in higher education was followed by a long-lasting stagnation. Between the period of 1990 and 2001 the number of students increased to 332 % (!), within that the number of regular students to 187 %, and the number of students participating in further specializing education to 750 %. The formal emancipation of women in 1946 was followed by the real and quick increase of the proportion of women only from 1960 – this process has not stopped after 1990 either, thus today the 55 % of issued diplomas are given to women. Regarding the proportion of students in different age-groups and the number of issued diplomas Hungary belongs to the middle third part of developed countries, but in the population of the over 25 of age we can find only 11 % graduates, while in Western and Northern Europe this number is above 20 %. The proportion of graduates is not determined by the present situation and state of development of a certain country, but instead of the time when the higher educational expansion has started. Until 1976 the most extensive branch of Hungarian higher education was the technological and agricultural instruction, after 1976 the forming of pedagogues strengthened – and is still in a leading position. After 1990 the economical and humanities fields developed. In the nineties college-instruction has got ahead of university instruction.

Andor Mihály shows that the commonplace of social sciences, according to what degree-holding parents send their children to secondary schools and universities with greater chances than parents not having a degree, actually cover huge differences in the group of graduates. The chances are automatically connected with the number of diplomas of parents, respectively with its university or college nature. The "leap" is between the groups with university and college qualification, this manifests itself in the choice of primary schools, extra-curricular private lessons, secondary schools, as well as in the relation to holiday knowledge. (Parents who graduated from universities choose "good" schools – although the quality of schools is established by the pupils who are in a favourable social position for some reason and are more

motivated, therefore reach a better performance – so we are dealing with a prophecy fulfilling itself.) The chance to study at a university for children having parents with two university diplomas is 91 %, however, for children with parents having a diploma issued by a college is only 65 %. An important symptom is that, while families who graduated from colleges provide themselves and their children with material goods, those who have university degrees concentrate their family resources to extra-curricular private lessons and book shopping. Couples who graduated from universities want to send to universities their daughters as much as their sons, while those holding a college-degree are more ambitious about their sons. Cultural "ancientness" – that is to say, the fact that a degree-holder is from the second generation – strengthens further chances only within the group of those graduated from a university.

Csákó Mihály studies the graduation from secondary schools and the chances of going to higher educational institutions of children having as father intellectuals (teachers, electrical engineers, doctors, lawyers, economists and men serving in military corporations). The 60 % of doctors' wives graduated from university, the 40 % of lawyers' and economists' wives also, however at teachers this proportion is 25 %, and at officers is 5 %. From the point of view of entrance examinations the most successful are economists – however, especially lawyers and doctors can send their children to universities - the position of other professions is weaker, officers are the last in the row. The hierarchy of intellectual groups is similar if we study the selection of high schools or the attendance of private lessons. At the same time all the intellectual groups assess their chances properly: regarding the ratio of registering to college or university and the successful entrance examination there is no difference between different professions. The quarter of educators' children are studying to be teachers, the third part of electrical engineers' children want to be engineers. Intellectuals' children usually will follow their parents' steps, exceptions are doctors who send their children in equal proportion to Medical Schools and scientific professions. Officers direct their offspring to intellectual professions having a higher prestige.

Thanks to the expansion of higher education the higher educational institutions leading to certain professions cannot be considered closed. Roughly the quarter of prospective teachers, to-be technical intelligentsia and future officers and only the third part of economical intelligentsia come from intellectual families. The decisive part of first generation prospective intellectuals are received into the college branch of higher education. For the sake of illustrating this we can read interviews in the Reality column, which show that in consequence of the higher educational expansion there is a way to degree without elite background and non-elite schools also – even if this road is more convoluted than in the case of former generations. In the same time the path – determined in a macro-sociological sense – of those coming from elite families is not without conflicts around 2000...

Galasi Péter shows that although from the increase in the number of graduates would easily follow that on the labour market there will be an over-supply of young graduates and their wages and income also lessens or they will be compelled to occupy workplaces where in the past high school graduation was sufficient, in this way pushing out those having only a high school diploma. All these did not happen, moreover, during the nineties the position on labour market of young graduates became better: unemployment decreased in their group, their advantage regarding wages increased compared to individuals of the same age having a high school diploma, their detriment in wages lessened compared to graduates before them. Young people having the degree from natural sciences are characterized – above average – by taking part in further education for the second diploma, those graduating from agricultural science are becoming unemployed, those having a Medical School diploma usually enter

work. Having a degree from an economic university – compared to college graduation – makes employment more probable and protect much rather against unemployment. Computer scientist who took their degree from universities – in contrast with their colleagues who graduated from college and entered work or became unemployed – prefer to choose further education. (On the other hand, those who enter work earn almost the double amount of Hungarian average wage together with economists. In contrast, individuals graduating from faculties of arts and science have an income that does not even reach the national – not the age-group – average.)

We can connect this issue to the article of *Blaskó Zsuzsa* in the *Research Papers* column. In this writing it is shown that usually in Europe only the 5 % of young graduates are unemployed, and in North-West Europe less than 10 %, in Latin countries the 35 % of those having a job believe that they could have got their job without a higher educational diploma. The actual field of work is connected much less with the concrete field of study. According to this the four-fifths of young graduates – starting his/her life all over – invariably want to get a diploma, but in choosing his/her field of study only half of them would remain consistent.

In this issue of *Research Papers* there are articles about three "concrete" intellectual professions. Karády Viktor compares two Medical Schools. The second Medical Faculty has been opened in Transylvania, in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár, Cluj-Napoca) interrupting the monopoly of Budapest existing until 1872. In the eighties the 6 %, in the year of 1910 the 13 % of medical students were trained in Klausenburg. (In spite of this fact the superiority of Budapest increased because the proportion of training in Austria and Germany decreased.) The conjunctural change in the absolute number of medical students was caused by the appearance of women on one hand, and on the other hand by the fact that medical students were promised easier service in the front line. The support of students, the clinical investment, the teacher/student ratio, etc. were more favourable in Klausenburg than in Budapest - the proportion of failures among students was less also. Klausenburg basically recruited students only from Transylvania and from the eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain, even though the 38 % of students from the Transylvanian area and the 81 % of students from eastern Hungary chose the more distant Budapest. (In some of the Transylvanian counties the ones choosing Budapest were in majority as well.) On the Transylvanian university the proportion of both propertied classes, and of industrialists was higher – Budapest was characterized by the high proportion of children having as parents petty bourgeois from the cities. Among intellectuals, representing on both sites the third of the population, the civil servants dominated in Klausenburg and the freelancers in Budapest. The number of girls was even smaller in Klausenburg than in Budapest. Half of the students in Budapest, and one-fifth of the students in Klausenburg was of jewish denomination. In sum we can state that – even though the university in Budapest was somewhat catholic in nature, the university in Klausenburg was built to be a public institution according to the napoleon-pattern – the audience of the former was more civilian. It is worth noting that after the 1920 peace-treaty from the individuals who graduated in Klausenburg more Romanians and Germans (!) than Hungarians moved to Hungary.

Hrubos Ildikó writes about a small-scale group of degree-holders (258 persons). She states about those having a scientific degree in Educational Sciences that they can be divided decisively into two groups: one group consists of those who starting from general education (originally finishing not a university, rather a college perhaps) changed their profession, and the other group comprising those who studied from the first to be professional scientists. The former career is characteristic of seniors, men, respectively – needing further interpretation, perhaps explained by generational effects – those coming from intellectual families. Those in this

group stress their successes in higher education in the first place. The second group consists of individuals below 55, women and first generation intellectuals – they are usually proud of their scientific achievement. The majority of our scientists work or worked in higher educational and scientific institutions, they are usually satisfied with their successes attained during their career, but they consider the social prestige of their profession low.

In the Research Papers Biró Zsuzsanna brings the difference between college and university out in bold relief. Educators having university-, respectively college degree – in contrast with the specialist literature predicting the shaping of the unified profession of educators – form clearly differentiated groups. Their social background is also very different and the most remarkable is that the principal dividing line here also, is between the groups of parents having college, respectively university degrees. From settlements that are in a better position – having more degree-holders – children go to universities with greater chances, the hierarchy of settlements can be traced not only in the dichotomy of village/town, but also among differently developed villages. Regarding the degree of secularization we can also see an unambiguous line from primary school teachers through grade school teachers to secondary school teachers. The least satisfied with their qualification are those finishing teacher training colleges: it is probable that they will attend further education, in this way deepening the difference between the profession of primary school teachers and teachers.

The most important benefit of this issue of Research Papers is that basically in each of its articles attention is directed to the significant social differences between college and university diploma, respectively to the difference of "royal" and "non-royal" ways leading to and starting from different diplomas. In the circumstances of higher educational expansion besides – and perhaps partly instead of – the dichotomy of having or not having a higher educational diploma – we can seek for the relationship between social inequalities and education more and more in this dichotomy.

(text of Péter Tibor Nagy – translated by Tünde Polonyi)

DIPLOMANDEN

Frühere Sozialstatistiken und Gesellschaftsanalysen behandelten die größeren Intellektuellengruppen (Ärzte, Juristen, Lehrer) voneinander getrennt. Erst im 20. Jahrhundert entstand das Bedürfnis, die geistige Elite der Gesellschaft aufgrund des Hochschulabschlusses zu bestimmen bzw. zu beschreiben (in Ungarn geschah dies zum Beispiel bei der Volkszählung von 1920). Die Vermassung des Hochschulwesens führte in einem ersten Zyklus lediglich zur Erhöhung des Anteils an Studenten in den entsprechenden Jahrgängen, zur Verlängerung der Ausbildungszeit sowie zum Anstieg der Dropout-Rate – und erst in einem zweiten Zyklus zur Vermassung des Hochschulabschlusses.

Andor Ladányi weist in seinem Beitrag darauf hin, dass den Perioden starker Zunahme der Studentenzahlen zwischen 1950 und 1954 sowie zwischen 1960–1965 jeweils eine langdauernde Stagnierung folgte. Zwischen 1990 und 2000 erhöhte sich die Zahl der Studenten um 332% (!) – darunter die Zahl der Studierenden an einem Weiterbildungskurs sogar um 750%. Die formale Gleichberechtigung der Frauen von 1946 wurde erst nach 1960 durch die rapide Zunahme der Studentinnen verwirklicht, ein Vorgang, der bis heute anhält: 55%